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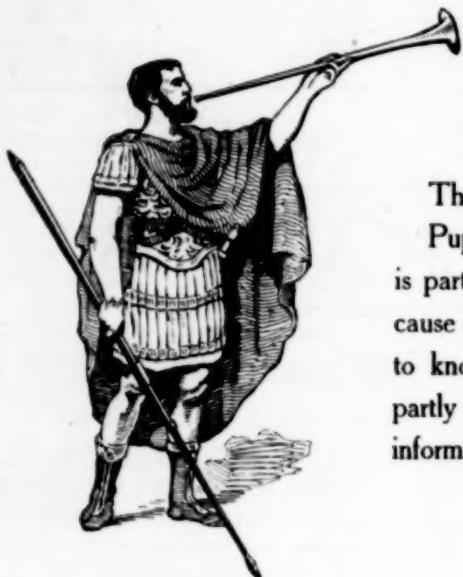
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VOL. XIII

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No. 25

## STUDIES IN THE CATILINARIAN ORATIONS<sup>1</sup>

In a fine paper entitled Fundamental and Auxiliary Studies of the Classical Teacher, which was published in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 12.201-206, Professor Julius Sachs set forth what he described as "the irreducible range of information which . . . is fundamental to Secondary teaching of the Classics" (204). To the acquisition of this irreducible range of information the *fundamental* studies of the classical teacher must be, in his opinion, addressed. The *auxiliary* studies of such a teacher, he went on to say (204), are concerned with "a vast range of collateral material upon some of which he should draw in his contact with his classes".

One more quotation from this article (204) will serve to launch us properly upon our present discussion:

In the teaching of Latin every teacher should develop one or several special interests, interests that reach beyond the literary interpretation of his text and yet emanate from it. A casual reference will suffice to show your students how from your ancient authors you gather testimony as to the general cultural background.

The present paper is an outcome of one classical teacher's effort to act in the spirit of Professor Sachs's injunction. I purpose to collect the more important passages in the four Orations Against Catiline which throw light on Roman life—not upon Roman public or political life, but upon what is covered by the title *The Private Life of the Romans*. In point of fact, the paper will essay to do more than that—to illustrate, by an appeal to familiar and reasonably accessible passages in other Latin authors, authors, too, whose works should be within the reading of all teachers of the Classics, what may be discovered in the Catilinarian Orations themselves. I deliberately refrain from references to the Handbooks. Teachers of Cicero ought to find both pleasure and profit in collecting, through their own reading of Latin authors, a proper array of illustrative passages. It goes without saying that they will remember better what they find out for themselves. In gathering the material here presented I had in mind some words written long ago (1888) by Professor J. B. Greenough, in the Preface to his edition of the Satires and Epistles of Horace:

. . . the editor has derived so much advantage from editions of the Classics in which the notes reminded him in particular connections of things which in general he knew before, that he has not inquired so much

<sup>1</sup>This paper was read at the First Fall Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at the University of Pennsylvania, November 20, 1919.

whether a thing was likely to be known, as whether it was likely to be thought of in the connection.

One more preliminary observation must be made. In the balance of this paper I shall be concerned far more with the *teacher* of Latin than with that teacher's pupils. I am, to be sure, convinced that much of what follows might very well be used in actual teaching—even to the employment, in the best printed translations, or in the teacher's own paraphrases, of the passages quoted from Latin authors, and of others like them. But, whether such employment in practical teaching is possible or not, there can be no two opinions concerning the correctness of the proposition, that a teacher ought to keep growing constantly by doing some work above and beyond the bare minimum required to discharge (?) his daily tasks. Every teacher of the Classics should make true of himself what Cicero said of liberal studies (*Pro Archia* 16).

(1) Let us begin with a familiar passage, from 1.8:

Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem: iam intelleges multo me vigilare aerius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—(non agam obscure), in M. Laecae domum. . . .

Here we have specific evidence of something which, without the evidence, common sense would have taught us, that, in ancient days, as in modern times, persons engaged in the same occupation gravitated together. To this gathering in the Street of the Scythe-Makers Cicero refers also in his *Pro Sulla* 52, in a passage which is of importance not only here, but also in connection with the passage we shall consider next. It runs as follows:

Sed quoniam Cornelius ipse etiam nunc de indicando dubitat, ut dicitis, informat ad hoc adumbratum indicium filium, quid tandem de illa nocte dicit, cum inter falcarios ad M. Laecam nocte ea quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium me consule, Catilinae denuntiatione, convenit? quae nox omnium temporum coniurationis acerrima fuit atque acerbissima. Tum Catilinae dies exundi, tum ceteris manendi condicio, tum disruptio totam per urbem caedis atque incendiorum constituta est; tum tuus pater, Cornelii, id quod tandem aliquando confitetur, illam sibi officiosam provinciam depoposcit, ut, cum prima luce consulem salutatum veniret, intromissus et meo more et iure amicitiæ me in meo lectulo trucidaret.

Various other Vici or Streets in Rome were named, it would seem, after the groups of persons of like pursuits or like characteristics who dwelt in them. Livy 35.41 (not 35.43, as Wilkins says on Cicero, Cat. 1.8) declares that the aediles of 194 B.C. porticum extra Portam Trigeminam *inter lignarios* fecerunt. One explanation

of the name *Vicus Iugarius* (that of a street of the Forum Romanum which ran between the *Templum Saturni* and the *Basilica Julia*), is that on it the makers of yokes had their shops. A street running into the Argiletum was called the *Vicus Sandaliarius*. Another street was known as the *Vicus Ad Tonsores*. We may, perhaps, mention here the *Vicus Tuscus*, which lay between the *Basilica* and the *Templum Castoris et Pollucis*. Tradition declared that this street was named after a colony of Etruscans, who, according to one tale, fled to Rome after the repulse of Porsenna at Aricia; another story had it that these Etruscans came to aid the Romans against the Sabine King, Titus Tatius. But it has been held that the settlement from which the street got its name was made up of the workmen who came to Rome to build the *Capitolium*. We might remark that in this Street the *Sosii Fratres*, booksellers, had their shop. Perhaps other booksellers had shops there: at any rate Horace, *Epp.* 1.20.1-2, has this street in his mind much as a Londoner might think of Paternoster Row. We know that booksellers congregated in the street on the North side of the Forum which was known as the Argiletum. Who that has read Martial 1.3.1-2 can forget those verses, or the rest of the piece?

Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas,  
cum tibi, parve liber, scrinia nostra vacent.

Who can forget Martial 1.117?:

Occurris quotiens, Luperce, nobis,  
"Vis mittam puerum" subinde dicas,  
"cui tradas epigrammaton libellum,  
lectum quem tibi protinus remittam?".  
Non est quod puerum, Luperce, vexes.  
Longum est, si velit ad Pirum venire,  
et scalis habito tribus, sed altis.  
Quod quaeris proprius petas licebit.  
Argi nempe soles subire letum:  
contra Caesaris est Forum taberna  
scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,  
omnes ut cito perlegas poetas.  
Illinc me pete. Nec roges Aretum  
—hoc nomen dominus gerit tabernae—  
de primo dabit altero nido  
rasum pumice purpurea cultum  
denaris tibi quinque Martiale.  
"Tanti non es" ais? Sapis, Luperce.

(2) In 1.10 Cicero reminds Catiline, and informs the Senate, that, at the gathering at the house of Laeca, Catiline and his associates had made their final plans. Mark these words:

dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae,  
quod ego vivarem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani  
qui te ista eura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo  
ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur  
exclusi eos quos tu ad me salutatum mane  
miseras.

The words specially to be noted here are *illa ipsa nocte*  
*interfecturos* and *quod tu ad me salutatum mane*  
*miseras*. With them compare the italicized words at  
the close of the passage from Cicero's *Pro Sulla* 52, cited  
above. Both sets of words bear testimony to the  
familiar fact that the *salutatio* took place, constantly, at

what would seem to us late-rising Americans an unearthly hour, so early in fact that the great man greeted his visitors while he was yet in bed. So well established was the custom that the *duo equites* could, under normal conditions (that is, if there had been no treachery within the ranks of the conspirators), have counted confidently upon being admitted, without question, to the bedchamber of their intended victim, to find him helplessly at their mercy.

These words of Cicero ought to bring to mind certain verses of Horace (*Sermones* 2.6.20-39), part of Horace's description of the discomforts of life in town:

Matutine pater, seu Jane libertius audis,  
unde homines operum primos vitaque labores  
instituunt—sic dis placitum—tu carminis esto  
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis: "Eia!  
ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge!"  
Sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem  
interiore diem gyro, ire necesse est.  
Postmodo quod mi obris clare certumque locuto  
luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.  
"Quid vis, insane, et quas res agis?" improbus urget  
iratis precibus; "tu pulses omne quod obstat,  
ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras".  
Hoc iuvat et melli est: non mentiar. At simul atras  
ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum  
per caput et circa saliunt latus. "Ante secundam  
Roscius orabat sibi adresses ad Puteal cras".  
"De re communi scribae magna atque nova te  
orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti".  
"Imprimat his cura Maecenas signa libellis".  
Dixeris, "Experiar", "Si potes, vis", addit et instat.

What teacher of the Classics can fail to recall at this point passages from Juvenal and Martial, e. g. Juvenal 3.126-130?

Quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod  
pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus  
currere, cum praetor licetum imperlat et ire  
praecipitem tubeat, dudum vigilantibus orbis,  
ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?

Compare also Juvenal 5.19-23 (Trebius, the poor  
*cliens*, gets, at last, an invitation to dine with  
his *patronus*):

habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum  
debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne  
tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem,  
sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore quo se  
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.

(3) In 1.14 Cicero says

Praetermittu ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnis  
impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties. . . .

We may think at once of Horace, *Epodes* 2, the charming idyl in which Horace sets forth the vagaries of the tired business man of ancient Rome, who threatens a 'back to the farm' movement (on this Epode compare now Professor Tenney Frank, *Classical Philology* 15.23-25). You will recall especially 67-70:

Haec ubi locutus faenerator Alfius,  
iam iam futurus rusticus,  
omnem redigit Idibus pecuniam,  
quaerit Kalendis ponere.

This passage suggests another, also from Horace. In *Sermones* 1.3 Horace is urging charity in judging the

faults of others. Such charity is entirely possible, whatever may be the ethical standards and measurements of a given age. The whole matter of right and wrong, and hence of the punishments meted out to wrong, is one of man's own ordering; the moment man finds that his ideas of *ius* and *iniustum* are erroneous, and that the punishments he is meting out for infractions of his purely subjective and arbitrary code are too severe, he can, if he will, change code and punishments.

'Why does not man, using his reason, employ weights and measures of his own, instead of the absurd code of the Stoics? Why does he not, in every instance, make the punishment just fit—not exceed—the offence? Suppose some slave, when bidden to remove a dish from the table, should lick the half-eaten fish and the half-cold gravy; suppose, further, that his master should then impale him on the cross: why, the whole world would regard that master as the maddest of the mad. And yet I can cite you a madder blunder! Your friend is "guilty" of some slight sin of omission, so slight that, should you fail to condone it, you would be accounted lacking in mellowness. Do you condone it? No'. Then come verses 85-89:

acerbus  
odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,  
qui nisi, cum tristes misero venece Kalendae,  
mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat,  
porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.

(4) In 1.31 we get information, perhaps, concerning a Roman method of dealing with fever patients. Cicero is arguing that the best interests of the State demand that not only Catiline, but also every one who sympathizes with him shall be cast out of the body politic. The departure of Catiline will, for a little while, bring relief to the State, but it will not cure the disease from which the State is suffering:

Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque affllicantur, sic hic morbus qui est in re publica relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.

I infer that among the Romans, as in modern days, even in the last century, water was, as a rule, denied to fever patients.

In 2.11 Cicero again has the language of medicine, especially of surgery, in mind:  
quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo, quae rесe‌canda erunt non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere.

With this compare 2.17:

... singulis medicinam consili atque rationis meae, si quam potero, adferam.

Once more we may illustrate Cicero by an appeal to Horace. In Sermones 1.3, in the course of his fine plea for charity in judging others, already mentioned, he says (76-79):

Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae,  
cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non  
ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res  
ut quaque est ita suppliciis delicta coercet?

It may be noted that *cōcere* could readily be used of surgical efforts to keep down a malignant growth.

(5) Turning now to the Second Oration, we find its first sentence of interest:

Tandem aliquando . . . L. Catilinam . . . vel eieciimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus.

Cicero might have omitted *verbis*, and have been in accord, still, with certain facts of Roman life, as he was, for instance, in Cat. 1.21:

. . . eosdem facile adducam ut te haec quae vastare iam pridem studes relinquenter usque ad portas prosequantur.

In Ad Atticum 6.3.6 Cicero mentions among the discourtesies of a certain Gavius (Cicero was then proconsul of Cilicia) this: Is me nec proficiscentem Apameam prosecutus est. . . .

We may now recall the acts suggested by the familiar phrases *deducere ad (in) Forum* and *reducere domum*. Here a familiar passage is Horace, Serm. 1.9.56-60 (said by the Bore of the Appian Way):

Haud mihi dero:  
muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si  
exclusus fvero, desistam; tempora quaeram,  
occurram in triviis, deducam. Nil sine magno  
vita labore dedit mortalibus.

Equally familiar should be Cicero, Cato Maior (= De Senectute) 62-63:

Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem adripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia—salutari, adpeti, decedi, deduci, reduci, consuli, quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur.

From these passages one can pass on to others in Juvenal and Martial which have to do with the life of the *clientes* of that time. Part of the duty of these *clientes* was to escort their *patroni* to and from the Forum. Compare e. g. Juvenal 1.127-134:

Ipse dies pulcro distinguitur ordine rerum:  
sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo  
atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere  
nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarchus,

Vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes  
votaque depount, quamquam longissima cenae  
spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis emendus<sup>2</sup>.

If one wishes to roam further afield, to learn more of forms of courtesy among the Romans, he may take a delightful passage, Horace, Epistles 1.6, the famous *Nil admirari* letter. Horace begins this letter with a statement of his own conception of the *summum bonum*. He then bids the man to whom this conception does not appeal to formulate his own view of the *summum bonum*, and, having done so, to strive with might and main to realize it. If, for instance, a man sets his heart on political preferment as the highest attainable good, this is what he should do (50-55):

<sup>2</sup>Reference may be made here to a dissertation by Miss Anne Bertha Miller, *Roman Etiquette of the Late Republic as Revealed by the Correspondence of Cicero* (reviewed by Professor Walter Miller in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9.61-62).

mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum  
qui fodicit latus et cogat trans pondera dextram  
porrigere: "Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina;  
cui libet hic fascis dabit, eripietaque curule  
cui volet importunus ebur". Frater, pater, adde:  
ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta.

With all this I should compare two passages from Irving's Alhambra. In the chapter entitled The Journey, we read:

Thus equipped and attended, we cantered out of 'fair Seville city' at half-past six in the morning of a bright May day, in company with a lady and a gentleman of our acquaintance, who rode a few miles with us in the Spanish mode of taking leave.

Again, in the chapter entitled The Author's Farewell to Granada, Irving writes:

Manuel . . . and two or three old invalids of the Alhambra with whom I had grown into gossiping companionship, had come down to see me off; for it is one of the good old customs of Spain to sally forth several miles to meet a coming friend and to accompany him as far on his departure.

This charming custom obtained in the American Colonies. Compare e. g. Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, Home Life in Colonial Days, 332 (New York, Macmillan, 1899).

It was also a universal and courteous as it was a pleasant custom for friends to ride out on the road a few miles with any departing guest or friend, and then bid them God speed agatewards.

(6) In 2.5 Ciceró characterizes in vigorous terms the constituent elements of Catiline's army. He then pays his respects to certain persons who are still in the city, though they belong, in spirit and purpose, to that army; among the things he charges against them is the fact that *nitant unguentis*. One who remembers that perfumes are mentioned often in Horace may at first be surprised by this charge; on second thoughts, however, he recalls that Horace mentions perfumes regularly in connection with the *comissatio*. The Horatian passages are, therefore, not in collision with our passage from Cicero. Further illustrations are easily discoverable in random reading. One such is Plautus, *Mostellaria* 273-279, part of the scene in which Philematium *meretrix* is adorning herself for the eyes of her lover, Philolaches. Addressing her shrewd old nurse, Scapha, who has been embittered by her experience of man's faithlessness, Philematium says, 'Do you think I ought to use *unguenta*?' 'Not at all', answers Scapha. 'Why?', inquires Philematium. Scapha's answer deserves to be quoted in full:

Quia ecasor mulier recte olet ubi nihil olet.  
Nam istae veteres, quae se unguentis unctitant, inter-  
poles,  
vetulæ, edentulæ, quae vitia corporis fuso occulunt,  
ubi sese sudor cum unguentis consociavit, illico  
itidem olent quasi quom multa iura confudit cocus.  
Quid olant nescias, nisi id unum, ut male olere intel-  
legas.

Horace, Sermones 1.4.91-93, runs thus:

Ego si risi quod ineptus  
pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargoniū hircum,  
invidus et mordax videor tibi?

Martial 2.12 savagely condemns a certain Postumus, thus:

Esse quid hoc dicam, quod olet tua basia myrrham  
quodque tibi est numquam non alienus odor?  
Hoc mihi suspectum est, quod oles bene, Postume,  
semper:  
Postume, non bene olet qui bene semper olet.

Returning now to Cicero himself, Cat. 2.10, we note another savage condemnation of Catiline's followers:

accubantes in conviviis complexi mulieres  
impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti,  
unguentis oblieti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus  
suis caudem bonorum atque urbis incendia.

Here the wearing of garlands is coupled with the use of unguents. We may recall again the fact that in Horace the garlands are mentioned in connection with the *comissatio*, and think in particular of such a passage as Plautus, *Menaechmi* 463, where Peniculus *parasitus* describes Menaechmus Syracusanus as the latter comes from his luncheon with Erotium *meretrix*: *cum corona  
exit foras*. Menaechmus himself tells us (475) that he has been drinking. In 563-564 Peniculus, talking to the wife of Menaechus Epidamniensis about her husband, as he supposes, says (with some exaggeration, to be sure):

pallam ad phrygionem cum corona ebrius  
ferebat hodie tibi quam surrupuit domo.

C. K.

*(To be concluded)*

## REVIEWS

An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius's Life of Tiberius. By Clara A. Holtzhauser. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Philadelphia, 1918 (printed by Intelligencer Printing Co., Steinman and Foltz, Lancaster, Pa.). Pp. 47.

C. Suetonii Tranquilli De Vita Caesarum Liber VIII Divus Titus: An Edition with Parallel Passages and Notes. By Helen Price. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company (1919). Pp. x + 85.

We learn from the Introduction of Miss Holtzhauser's dissertation (page 5) that

The purpose of this thesis is to collect such inscriptions as may either confirm or refute the statements of Suetonius in his *Life of Tiberius*, and such as may prove of general interest in relation to that work.

These inscriptions with the commentary thereon cover about forty pages, and much of it is very interesting. The author's style is concise, a quality which is often a virtue. But at times it is much too concise. For example, on page 13 the note on *Agrippinam* seems too brief, and it would be interesting to find there the reason for the erasure noted. But the most unfortunate instance of compression is in the Introduction, where the conclusions drawn from the investigation are set forth in nine lines—we might even say in four lines. A dissertation should show more than the mere ability to

collect material, of whatever value. It should demonstrate the writer's ability to use the material in drawing conclusions. While perhaps the amount of new knowledge that has a general bearing is not great in works of this sort, surely nine lines of results obtained are not sufficient to justify the large amount of labor involved in the present compilation. Very little of this side of the work is visible in the body of the "thesis". The author's principal statement of results is worth quoting here (5):

So far as actual historical records are concerned, I find that Suetonius rarely makes a mistake, but the general unfavorable impression that he gives of the attitude of the Roman world towards Tiberius is not confirmed by inscriptions.

It would have been helpful if she had cited examples or had referred the reader to the passages in the body of the work where instances could be found. The reviewer can aid by noting that the discrepancy between Suetonius and the inscriptions is particularly great in Chapters 47, 48, 50.3, 63, and 65.2.

The customary Bibliography appears, citing as usual many books that one would take for granted, and few others. As the years roll on, one grows weary of seeing it gravely set forth that Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* has been used, not to mention other works equally obvious.

The form of the book is good, and the page attractive. The reviewer found no misprints to mar it, unless the printer is to be charged with some of the errors of punctuation. Consistency is generally maintained in abbreviations and citations, a characteristic far from universal in dissertations. But more attention should have been paid to English, which might often be improved. We boast that the study of the Classics improves the pupils' English; let us be thankful that the pupils do not see our dissertations. We should refuse to accept in class a phrase like "the above mentioned, recently found inscription from Ostia" (page 47); why use it ourselves? But the material here gathered is interesting, and to one making a study of Suetonius or Tiberius even invaluable. The work is painstaking and accurate, and a credit to the author.

In Miss Price's dissertation, the text of the Titus is printed in small capitals at the head of the page; it is followed by the parallel passages in ten point type, with the notes below in eight point type. The three parts of the work can thus be readily distinguished at a glance. The *Vita Divi Titi* covers a trifle more than seven Teubner pages; Miss Price adds enough illustrative material to bring the body of her book up to 74 pages, the notes being the bulkier part. It is a good thing to have in so convenient a form the material that is gathered here. She has added two excurses, the first (75-80) containing a translation of the chapters of the *Bellum Iudaicum* of Josephus which describe the triumph of Vespasian and Titus, the second (81-85) on Facts in regard to Titus not mentioned by Suetonius in the *Vita Divi Titi*.

The form of the book is not so good as that of Miss

Holtzhauser's. There is no running title, and the paging is at the bottom. Moreover, the book is marred by serious errors. There are many misprints. Every reference enclosed in parentheses ends with a period regardless of other punctuation; this is particularly objectionable when another period immediately follows the parenthesis. Miss Price has also a habit of naming an author twice in citations, thus: "Lucan (Lucan, 7.529) uses *regens* in this sense" (page 23, note 16). Latin quotations in the notes are printed in uniform type with the rest of the notes and without quotation marks. The work would be easier to read if the Latin were in some way differentiated from the English. One would suppose it was unnecessary to translate for her readers the Latin that she quotes, but she sometimes does this without good reason (e. g. Pliny, Epp. 9.7.4, at the bottom of page 2). Where Dio 66.19 is translated on page 84 a reference might well have been added to the Greek text on page 63, where the context also is given. Carelessness in reference is not infrequent. Thus Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familiares* are cited simply as "Cic. *Epist.*" (page 29, note 13; page 42, note 11; page 49, note 3; in the second passage the text is altered without any indication). In some instances a note will not stand the test of verification (on page 29, note 13, the passage in Kühner cites no examples of this use of *flagito*; the second reference to Kühner here is wrong: for 2 c read 3 c). Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte Roms* is cited in three different editions. Miss Price's negligence in these points makes a very bad impression, and prejudices the reader against her work. Fortunately, she redeems herself in some measure by apparently scrupulous accuracy in citing her ancient authorities. The reviewer found no errors there except in the Cicero references mentioned above. This is a rather long discussion of minor points for the review of a dissertation, but due attention to such points would render dissertations more useful as well as more attractive.

Miss Price's Bibliography is more sensible than Miss Holtzhauser's, but it also includes many superfluous titles, such as Daremberg et Saglio. One is inclined to wonder how often the writer used the three seventeenth century editions cited (page vii) among "only the most important books used in the preparation of this dissertation". And with all these listed, we find no explanation of certain cryptic symbols employed in the text, such as "Jordan FUR" (page 5, note 9); "Brambach, CIRII" (page 19, note 4). On the whole, the reviewer regrets that the numerous small slips constitute a serious blemish in what otherwise would be an excellent piece of work.

HAMILTON COLLEGE.

DONALD BLYTHE DURHAM.

*Aeneas at the Site of Rome: Observations on the Eighth Book of the Aeneid*. By W. Warde Fowler. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell; New York: Longmans, Green and Co. (1918). Pp. ix + 130.  
\$1.50.

The Death of Turnus. Observations on the Twelfth Book of the Aeneid. By W. Warde Fowler. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell; New York: Longmans, Green and Co. (1919). Pp. vii + 158. \$2.00.

It is greatly to be regretted that the requirement of six books of the Aeneid, generally prescribed for admission to our Colleges, was commonly fulfilled by reading the first six books, and that for the majority of our students the last six remained an undiscovered country. I have used the past tense, not because the last six books are now better known, but because of late the practice has become prevalent of calling for a so-called 'intensive' reading of two or three books and a rightly named 'rapid reading' of a part of the rest. So far as the reviewer's observation goes, this plan has commonly resulted in an actual diminution of the requirement. If the amount of Latin prescribed for admission to College must be cut down by those Schools which make a practice of teaching a very little about a great many subjects, by all means let it be done openly and without disguise. Then let us have, as in Cincinnati, one High School in each community (or one curriculum where a town or a village supports but one High School), which offers a classical course of six years, along with a few other adequate and substantial courses. The number of those who have been admitted to Cincinnati's Classical High School shows clearly enough that there is a real demand for such a course of study.

If anything were needed to show the absorbing interest of the last six books of the Aeneid, it would be found in these attractive and stimulating volumes. Book Seven, verses 601-807, also has been edited by Dr. Fowler, under the title of The Gathering of the Clans (Blackwell, Oxford, 1916), and it is to be hoped that in due season we may have similar studies of the other three books, if not of the other nine.

Each volume contains an introductory note, the text, and a commentary which discusses the meaning of sundry passages, naturally with special attention to the subject of religion and religious observance, on which Dr. Fowler speaks with particular authority; but other matter is by no means excluded. It is quite impossible within the limits of a brief review to mention more than a small part of the many points of interest to be found in these books. In connection with the earlier volume, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, special attention might be called to the recognition, on page 33, of the doubtful value of passages from later imitators of Vergil for throwing light upon his meaning; to the attractive explanation of *rumore secundo* (8.90; the words are taken in the Notes with *celerant*, in spite of the punctuation in the text), as referring to the songs or "musical sounds used all over the world by boatmen and sailors"; to the note on Vergil as a teller of stories (pages 58-60); and to the discussion, lightened by the writer's quiet humor, of the question whether cocks or swallows are alluded to in 8.456. Interesting too, is the comparison, on page 57, of *supersticio* with *supersedit* in Suetonius,

Aug. 93.

In the discussion of the Twelfth Book the character of Turnus is analyzed, and the reasons for his fate are made clear. Highly interesting and suggestive are the remarks (pages 87-92) on Ascanius as the ideal of Roman boyhood, and on his part in his father's fortunes, his gradual growth in years and maturity but relative youthfulness throughout the poem. In 12.221 *pubentes*, given by the best manuscripts, is retained in place of the reading *tabentes*, accepted by Ribbeck, the Oxford text, and Professor Fairclough (in the Loeb Classical Library). The former certainly gives a more attractive and, on the whole, a more natural, picture, and it emphasizes the youthfulness of Turnus as contrasted with "the mature widower Aeneas". In 12.520 the relative merits of the readings *limina* and *munera* are discussed at length and the latter is adopted, although the suggestion is made that *munera* may be a gloss of the third or the fourth century.

In 12.250 *excellentem* is interpreted as "rising in flight", which is surely more poetic and more Vergilian than Servius's view that it equals *magnum*, adopted by the majority of the editors. Professor Fairclough, in the Loeb Classical Library, makes this latter version somewhat less prosaic by the rendering "stately", but Dr. Fowler's translation is much more attractive.

In his note on 12.416 Dr. Fowler, quoting 3.151, where the Penates are said to have appeared to Aeneas *multo manifesti lumine*, and 4.358, where Mercury is seen *manifesto in lumine*, apparently takes *lumine* in both passages to mean the nimbus or "divine effulgence" accompanying the presence of a divinity. He also cites in the same connection 1.402 ff. and 2.589 ff. In the first two passages this interpretation seems to be quite wrong. In 3.151 the mention of the full moon, and of the windows, makes it evident that *lumine* was moonlight: "clear in the flood of light where the moon streamed through the inset windows" (so Professor Fairclough). In 4.358, too, Professor Fairclough is clearly right in the rendering, "My own eyes saw the god in the clear light of day come within our walls", for a contrast is obviously suggested between an appearance in broad daylight and a vision in the night. In the other two passages cited by Dr. Fowler, as well as in 1.588, *refulsit* is apparently used of such a 'divine effulgence', but in 1.588 *clara in luce* seems to be used of the clear light of day. In 2.590 *pura in luce* is so closely parallel to *clara in luce* (Vergil seems to use *pura* in the former case merely because he has *clara* in the preceding line), that one is naturally disposed to refer the phrase to the light of the moon, since we are told in 2.255 that it was a moonlight night. Professor Fairclough agrees with me as to the first of these passages, which he renders by "Aeneas stood forth, gleaming in the clear light". In the second, translated "in pure radiance gleaming through the night", he seems to have the same idea as Dr. Fowler. Personally, I should incline to confine the idea of 'divine effulgence' to *refulsit* and to take the phrases with *lumine* and *luce* as referring in all four instances to moonlight or to daylight. In further sup-

port of this opinion it may be noted that in 1.402 *refusit* sufficiently indicates Venus's 'divine effulgence' without an additional phrase like *clara in luce*.

I have noted but a few of the many points of interest in these interesting volumes, which should form part of the library of all teachers of Vergil, as well as of all lovers of the Mantuan bard.

How great opportunity there is for a difference of opinion as to the meaning of a writer so familiar and so thoroughly 'edited' as Vergil may be seen from the interesting variations between Dr. Fowler's rendering and that of Professor Fairclough to be found on the following pages of *The Death of Turnus*: 92, 93, 95, 99, 101, 106, 107.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

JOHN C. ROLFE.

**The History of the Title Imperator under the Roman Empire.** By Donald McFayden. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press (1920). Pp. ix + 67. 75 cents.

In his first chapter Mr. McFayden explains the significance and use of the title Imperator under the Republic. Beginning then with Caesar he discusses the history of the title under the Empire. The following are his main conclusions. The statements of Suetonius, Jul. 76, and Dio 43.44.2-5, that Caesar received the title Imperator as a praenomen are proven by evidence contemporary with Caesar to be untrue—as Mommsen has shown (*History*, Eng. Translation, 1894, 4.559-566; *Römisches Staatsrecht* 2.767). Caesar did not use the title Imperator to express his proconsular imperium, as Mommsen has claimed. Nor did the Senate ever decree that the title should be hereditary in Caesar's family, as Dio states (43.44.2-5). Caesar in fact employed the title as did his contemporaries, except that he continued to hold it—contrary to Republican usage—after his various entries into Rome before his triumph of 46 B.C. Octavianus during the Mutina campaign (43 B.C.) received from his troops and the Senate the title Imperator in the usual Republican sense. He used the title in the customary position after his name, from 43 to c. 38 B.C. But during this period he frequently omitted it (e.g. from his coins) and preferred to be called Triumvir or Divi filius. But, as Antony and other contemporaries frequently adopted the title Imperator, Octavianus had to use it occasionally in order not to be outshone. It was probably in the year 38 (not 40, as Mommsen states in his *Staatsrecht* 2.767 fl.) that Octavianus, perhaps at the instigation of Agrippa, adopted Imperator as a praenomen, and a permanent distinction. From c. 38 B.C. to 29 B.C. he consistently employs the Praenomen Imperatoris in his titulary. This was the period when Octavianus's rôle was that of the defender of Italy against her foreign enemies, and the Praenomen Imperatoris served to call attention to this distinction. During the period of the Principate, however (29 B.C.-14 A.D.), Octavianus, or Augustus, desiring to pose as a civil ruler, or as 'first citizen' (Princeps), suppressed the Praenomen Imperatoris to some extent. It still appears in consular datings and Fasti, but is generally absent from other inscriptions, from coins, and from the contemporary literature. It is noteworthy that Augustus never alludes to the Praenomen Imperatoris in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, but refers to himself as Princeps. The title Imperator in the titulary of Augustus was during this third period rather a badge of military distinction than an expression of his proconsular imperium. To

the provincials, however, Imperator was more than a military title; it connoted 'absolute ruler'. Tiberius, loyal to Augustus's theory of the Principate as the rule of the first citizen, abstained from using the Praenomen Imperatoris, and his example was followed by the other Emperors of the Julio-Claudian line. But, as Mr. McFayden says (60), "there were forces at work which were making the substitution of imperator for princeps as the common noun for 'emperor' natural, if not inevitable". Among these forces were the influence of the provincial conception of Imperator, and the Emperors open dependence on the praetorians. The fact that the Emperors of the 'year of confusion', 68-69 A.D., were made and unmade by the armies helped to complete the process. Finally, Vespasian, with characteristic frankness, revived the use of the Praenomen Imperatoris. On page 66 Mr. McFayden says, "His employment of the Praenomen imperatoris as a standing title was probably intended as a compliment to the army and as a reminder to the Senate of the position in which it stood". The Praenomen Imperatoris was treated by Vespasian and his sons as their distinctive title; it appears regularly on their coins, and is rarely omitted even in brief and informal inscriptions. This practice was adopted by succeeding Emperors down to the Oriental Monarchy. Then the reaction against the *tumultuarii imperatores* of the third century led to the preference of Princes to Imperator in the succeeding period. After Diocletian, the Cognomen Imperatoris disappears, and the Praenomen Imperator gradually falls into disuse, being replaced by Dominus Noster. The title Imperator was, however, revived by Charlemagne after 800 A.D.

Mr. McFayden brings forward a good array of evidence in support of his thesis, and defends with skill those that are at all controversial. He makes a good case for one of the most surprising of his contentions, namely that relating to Caesar's use of the title. It would seem that the Dictator in this matter at least did not proceed with the reckless disregard of Republican usage with which some modern writers have credited him. With regard to certain of the author's further conclusions, it seems at first thought hardly probable that Augustus omitted from his titulary any direct reference to his proconsular imperium, his *imperium militiae*. The omission seems particularly strange when we remember that the contrasting *imperium domi* is represented by the indication in the titulary of the *tribunicia potestas*. Mr. McFayden remarks (47) that there are other powers, such as the censorial power and the control of elections, which are not expressed in the titulary. But none of these, as it happens, equals in importance the proconsular imperium—the real basis, after all, of the Emperor's power. Yet the frequent absences of the Praenomen Imperatoris from inscriptions, coins, etc., of the period 29 B.C.-14 A.D., do seem to support Mr. McFayden's theory. The disuse of the Praenomen Imperatoris by the immediate successors of Augustus is, as far as this point is concerned, perhaps not so significant. Is it not partly explicable by the fact that in the time of these Emperors the conception of the title Princeps, as involving *all* the imperial prerogatives, had become familiar? Finally, it may be objected that Mr. McFayden goes rather far when he fixes (66) on the date when Vespasian assumed the Praenomen Imperatoris as precisely the time when "Rome really ceased to be a self-governing state".

Considered from the technical point of view this study is an excellent piece of work. In dealing with the source material, literary, epigraphic, or numismatic, Mr. McFayden is acute in his analyses and ingenious in his combinations. A valuable feature of his work

as a whole is that it suggests to the reader many reflections that range beyond the limits which the author has imposed upon himself.

SMITH COLLEGE,  
Northampton, Massachusetts.

WILLIAM D. GRAY.

### THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the The Classical Association of New England was held at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., on Friday and Saturday, April 2-3. Following the example set by Loomis Institute, at Windsor, Conn., and Wheaton College, at Norton, Mass., Wesleyan University most generously provided, without charge, sleeping accommodations in the College dormitories for all in attendance upon the meeting, and meals on Friday and Saturday. It is a pleasure to be able to state that the meeting was a distinct success in every way, that the attendance was good, that the papers were interesting, and were extremely well presented.

The programme was as follows: Welcome, by President William Arnold Shanklin, Wesleyan University (in the unavoidable absence of the President, the Vice-President of the University spoke), with a response by Professor Haven D. Brackett, Clark College, Worcester, Vice-President of the Association; Notes on the Perfect Indicative, by Mr. Bernard M. Allen, Roxbury School, Cheshire, Conn.; The Latinisms in Shakespeare's Dictionary, by Miss Edith Frances Clafin, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn.; Woong and the Wooded, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University; Greetings from The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, by Professor Charles Knapp; Some Greek and French Parallels, by Mr. Walter R. Agard, Amherst College; The Humor of the Greek Anthology, by Professor Joseph W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University; Observations on the Relation between Latin and Greek in Secondary School and College, by Professor Haven D. Brackett, Clark College, Worcester, Mass.; Back to Greek Ideals, by Professor Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine; A Greek Round-Table; The Study of Classics as Experience in Life, by Dr. William C. Greene, Groton School, Groton, Mass.; Plautus Up-to-Date, by Mrs. Samuel Valentine Cole, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.; Greece Expectant, Professor Kendall K. Smith, Brown University, Providence, R. I.; Organ Recital in the College Chapel, by Mr. J. Blair Beebe, Music Director of the South Congregational Church, New Britain, Conn.; The Romans in Egypt (illustrated), by Professor Caroline Morris Galt, Mount Holyoke College; Training versus Education, by Professor Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University; Shall we teach the Classics in Translation? by Professor Chauncey B. Tinker, Yale University; Observations on Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia*, by Professor Charles Knapp; The Mystery of Reading at Sight, by Dr. J. Edmund Barss, The Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn.

Abstracts of all the papers will be published in the Bulletin which The Classical Association of New England issues annually, setting forth information concerning the Association and the annual meeting. Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association.

Professor Frank Cole Babbitt, of Trinity College, Hartford, was elected President, and Professor M. N. Wetmore, of Williams College, Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. Charles H. Forbes, of Phillips Exeter Academy, tendered resolutions, which were adopted unanimously by a rising vote, expressing the Association's appreciation of the extraordinarily valuable services rendered to it by Professor George E. Howes, of Williams College, who from the very beginning of the Association almost to the present day was its Secretary-Treasurer. Professor Howes felt obliged to resign the Secretary-Treasurership during the past year, when he became Dean of Williams College.

A Committee was appointed some two years ago to take up definitely the matter of tests in Latin similar to the tests that are so much in evidence nowadays in other subjects. This Committee, whose Chairman was Mr. Albert E. Perkins, of the Dorchester High School, made a general report of its activities. It stated that it had reached the opinion that the making of tests in Latin, on a scale sufficiently large to be of real value, was beyond the resources of a regional Classical Association, and it therefore recommended that The Classical Association of New England, should it endorse the project in general, pass the matter on to the American Classical League, with the recommendation that the League take up the subject in a serious way. This recommendation of the Committee was, by vote of the Association, referred to the Executive Committee, with power.

In the course of his paper, Professor McCrea had remarked that the teachers of Mathematics in the United States had been engaged for some time, through a representative commission, in a thoroughgoing examination of the purposes of the study of Mathematics in Schools and Colleges, particularly in the Schools, of the various curricula in Mathematics, and of the methods in use, with a view to recommending for general adoption improvements in both curricula and methods. This Commission had obtained last year, and again for the coming year, substantial financial assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation. Professor McCrea then threw out the suggestion that the teachers of the Classics ought to inaugurate a similar movement, and seek similar financial support. Mr. J. Macduffie, of Springfield, Mass., presented resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, to the effect that The Classical Association of New England should approve this suggestion, and pass it on to the American Classical League for consideration and action, if possible.

The report of Professor M. N. Wetmore, Secretary-Treasurer for the latter part of 1919-1920, showed that the Association once more enjoyed a prosperous year, making a net gain in membership and in available funds.

C. K.

### NOTE

The article entitled *A Virgilian Shelf of Reading*, which was reprinted in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13. 151-152, was published originally in The Christian Science Monitor, book page, February 11, 1920. In answer to a request for the name of the author, the Assistant Editor wrote as follows: ". . . the Editor prefers that this matter be handled impersonally, and I, therefore, must withhold the name of the author".

C. K.

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